/333 cont./

Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern.
243 For them corn is of prime importance; it constitutes the basis
● [273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or kãwi.

[132] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate,
[134] hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /334/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

114 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month
243 of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to
[101] be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to
[127] refer to Corrado (pp. 42 and 48), Campana (pp. 96-98), Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 181-184, and 10, pp. 23-24), to Nino (pp. 237-241), and Rosen (1, p. 205).

241 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of
243 ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

/337 cont./

243 [476] [534] Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which for them take the place of horns (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti) (Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. In olden days the [622] village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to make sure that all helped one another.

[534] [321] Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/5 nat. size.)

Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at [461] a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task [273] and go back to the village where the chicha or kāwi, which the owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them

/357 cont./

252 covered with the bran. The muitero is then placed on the opening of a pot full of water and the whole put on the fire. The rising steam goes through the holes of the muitero and cooks the corn while saturating it with moisture. So that the steam will not escape at the sides, the line of contact between the edges of the muitero and the neck of the vessel is smeared with clay.

I have given the recipe for this dish according to Nino (p. 246), for I have never been present at its preparation. The Chiriguano themselves must have forgotten it; I do not remember having seen more than two muitero during my whole trip: one at Yumbía and the other at Ivu. Since it is im- [178] possible to prepare muintimimo without this basin, one must suppose that the Chiriguano of the decline have forgotten even the taste of one of the most original dishes of their cuisine.

At Ivu the Chiriguano had me taste kāwi-rai (little kāwi), a kind of gruel made with kernels of corn softened by a more or less long soaking in water, then pounded and rid of the bran. This gruel is cooked in water and eaten cold. It is [273] sometimes left to ferment for several days and from that has doubtless come its name of "little corn beer."

The Indians make flat corn cakes (muyape) (2), which are

2. The corn fritters that I saw roasted in a frying pan at Pípi were doubtless muyape cakes. Unfortunately, I was not able to learn their name.

mentioned in the myths I have collected, but which I myself have never had a chance to taste. Avatindi, or white corn, is softened in water, pounded, then kneaded with salt and pimento and the dough shaped into flat cakes which are cooked under the ashes. When they are supposed to be done, they are pulled out from beneath the glowing embers and washed with water, and they finally have a kind of bread with a pleasant taste.

/364 cont./

Fermented Beverages

293 [122] [123]

Anyone who has traveled among the Chiriguano or the Chané has learned to prize corn beer, or kāwi. Few moments in the course of my expedition have left me more pleasant memories than the ones when, tired by a long stage, I would sit down in front of a hut and receive from the hands of the wife of the "captain" a calabash full of this liquid, slightly sharp and a little granular, which quenches thirst and allays hunger. The day when the Chiriguano stop making kāwi will be a sign that they have disappeared from the face of the earth, and perhaps this delicious drink will survive them as a creole speciality in which good nationalists will take pride.

Father Corrado (p. 43) once heard from the mouth of a Chiriguano an admirable definition of the role of kāwi in the life of an Indian: "It is our father and our mother," said he. Indeed, it is the father of joy, the sign of plenty, the companion of the most beautiful moments of existence as well as the most tragic ones. It has within it a mysterious and mystic force which penetrates the individual, exalts him, and protects him against supernatural dangers. All festivals are reduced, in their essential part, to the consumption of kāwi; no collective enterprise is conceivable without their first drinking it from full jars (1). From birth to death, all that affects the

293 726

1. Even in the 16th century the Chiriguano, like the ancient Tupinamba, did not undertake any expedition of war without having celebrated a caouin or a vin /wine/, to express ourselves like the old French chroniclers; /a passage of poetry in Spanish from Barco Centenera, p. 262, is omitted in the translation/.

When the Chiriguano of Parapití and Caipipendí rose up in 1799, before the revolt they held great drinking festivals, during the course of which they decided on the plan of operations (Corrado, p. 254).

/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kāwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kāwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyú did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyú was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

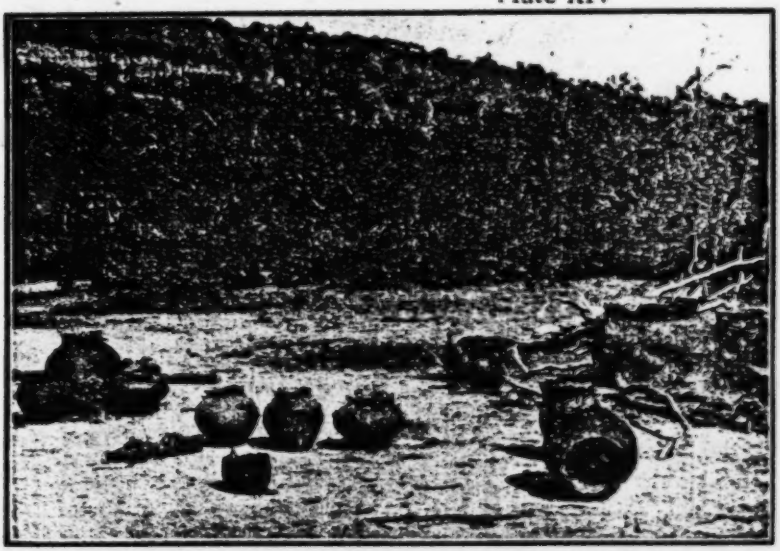
The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Carurutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1).

529 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

Plate XIV

273
415



1. Vessels assembled in front of a hut and serving for the preparation of kãwi (chicha). Carurutí. (Photo. A. M.)

273
291
516
574
576

2. Women and children taking kàwi. The women are squatting on the ground on skins, while the men are seated on benches or chairs. Samirenda. (Photo. A. M.)

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play: it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururutí
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an îru (Plate XVII, 1), which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
412

Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kāwi. Cururutí. (Photo. A.M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain
[178] artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[237] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[531] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[For plate XVII, See category 116, P.127--Analyst]

/366 cont./

• 273 126 It is not so easy as one thinks to observe in detail the preparation of kāwi, and I am still at a loss to describe the stages in their exact sequence. This difficulty is due to the fact that kāwi is prepared over several days (generally three or four), and it is /Plate XV appears here/ /367/ difficult to be on the spot all the time so as not to miss any detail. Besides, as different families do not begin to prepare kāwi at the same time, confusion results: and it is hard to know at what point of the operation one finds oneself. Apparently I am not the only one to have come up against this obstacle, for it is enough to read the various descriptions devoted to this important occupation to become aware that they are far from agreeing.

[1147]

273 462 At the moment when the water is at the boiling point in the big vats, the burning pieces of wood and the live coals are scattered, and the corn flour is poured in, being stirred vigorously so that it will not form lumps. While this operation is performed, other women have pounded fine a certain quantity of corn, sifted it, winnowed it to rid it of any impurity, then roasted it in a large potsherd. As this flour is taken off the fire, the women chew part of it and spit this into a calabash. This paste impregnated with saliva is called temĭsu. According to Nino (p. 248), the Indian women mix the temĭsu with the corn broth which is cooking in the vats and with which they fill a pot. The woman who busies herself with this mixture (emopirai) allows it to fall back in from a certain height "to give it sweetness."

[412] →

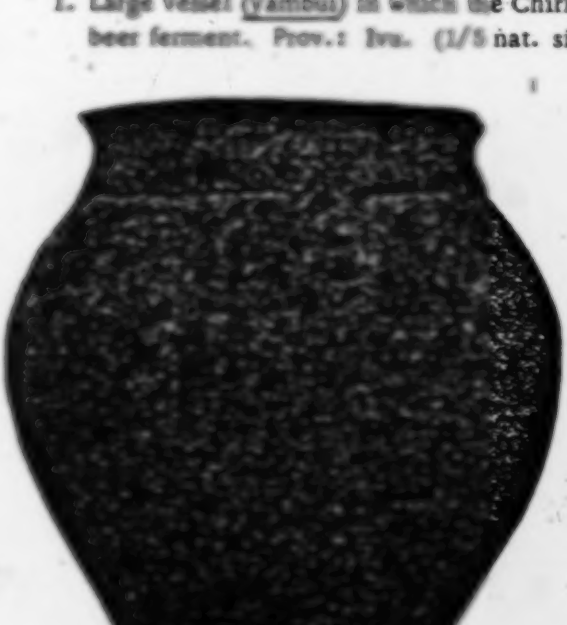
Fig. 37. Sticks for stirring the kāwi while it is cooking. No. 1 comes from Tigĭipa; No. 2 from Ivo; Nos. 3 and 4 from Sa[illegible] (upper Pilcomayo). (1/2 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--119 E-6 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

415
293

Plate XV

1. Large vessel (yambui) in which the Chiriguano make corn beer ferment. Prov.: Ivu. (1/5 nat. size.)



[964]

2. Large vat (yambui) for boiling ãwi. The Chiriguano bury their dead in similar urns. Prov.: Ivu. (1/7 nat. size.)

/367 cont./

273 462

The umopirai is added to the kāwi, which from this moment on is subjected to intense cooking. A large, bright fire is lighted around the vat containing it and burns day and night; the women go to stir it from time to time to keep it from sticking.

At night the village of Caiuruti has a strange look: over the open square in front of the huts high flames rise, against which are outlined in black the silhouettes of the women who, busy and hard-working, do not take time to sleep. The next morning the fire is allowed to go out and the kāwi to cool. It is then decanted into vessels of smaller dimensions, and all the women, including little girls, assemble to take handfuls of the marc and chew it, one trying to outdo the other. These balls, sticky with saliva, are spit back into the vessel. A rather large amount of cold water is added to the kāwi, and right afterward comes the bottling, if I may so express myself. The kāwi is strained through a very fine-meshed sieve. The marc, or siripi, /368/ is thrown away or used again. The beer, or pale wine, is distributed into vessels which are carefully closed with a calabash or bowl, and this liquid is left to ferment for two or three days. So that it may be completely protected from the air, the line of contact between the vessel and its cover is smeared with clay.

273 412

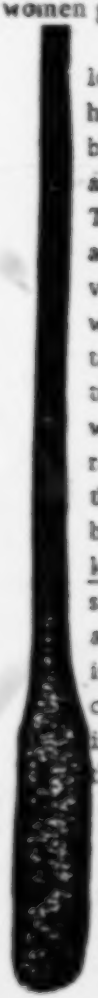


Fig. 33. Oar for stirring kāwi during cooking. Prov.: Pípi. (1/9 nat. size.)

Fig. 34. Shovel ending in an ox scapula which the Chiriguano use for stirring kāwi. Prov.: Pípi. (1/10 nat. size.)

[237]

C 293 /368 cont./

A certain variety of kĭwi is prepared by boiling it again after passing it through the sieve and "bottling" it only after letting it cool a second time.

Kĭwi is generally covered with a thick oily layer which the Indians are far from scorning. The mistress of the house takes the precaution of pouring a certain quantity of it into the vessels which do not have any.

In their descriptions of the preparation of kĭwi, Giannecchini and Nordenskiöld say nothing about the temiru, the umopirai, and, in general, a good many of the stages the corn goes through before being converted into beer. This silence is probably due to the very complexity of this operation, more than one detail of which certainly escaped them. The preparation of kĭwi is a tiring occupation which requires great effort. The Indians display a veritable science in its manufacture. It is easier to distill alcohol, and, in any case, this is a task demanding less physical activity. Perhaps centuries of groping were needed for arriving at determining the time of cooking, the proportions of roasted and chewed flour, the quality of the grain, etc. All that is the result of minute observations, many trials, and also much reflection. These considerations are intended to justify the remark made at the beginning of this chapter: a simple cooking recipe often tells as much about the civilization of a people as a perfected tool.

C 293 824 171 CE [293] [824] [114]

/369/ The fruits of the mistol, chañar, or algarroba can give a chicha that the Chaco Indians like very much, but which the Chiriguano scorn. They have recourse to it only in case of scarcity. The Chané of the Izozog, whom I could not visit, have the specialty of kĭwi from batatas. The Chiriguano also know how to make use of this tuber to prepare a fermented drink, but they judge it to be of inferior quality and declare that one must be a poor devil to take any. (Nordenskiöld, 2, p. 236) (1).

1. Barco Centenera (p. 315) already mentions the different types of chicha prepared by the Chiriguanos: "El vino de maiz y de algarroba,

293
523
524

/369 cont./

De Molles, y de murta bien cicado.
Seguro que bebian casi arrobe.
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado."
/The wine of maize and of algarrobe.
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked:
It is certain that they drank almost
an arrobe.
The measure which was given to each
one./

293
524
594
[123]
[114]

Kîwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook. The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground.

[954] The kîwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

A second vessel, brimming over with kîwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then busies himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kîwi.

/313 cont./

At Isoirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kĩwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kĩwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

Formerly the preparation of kĩwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Caruruí and Caipipendí, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a completely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

/409 cont./

415 12. The ornithomorphic vessel of Figure 73 seems to
191 have come from the hands of the ancient potters of the Isla
192 de Tilcara who, several centuries ago, used to make analogous pieces, without a doubt servilely imitated by the Chané and the ancestors of the Chiriguano (see Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 139-141, p. 191). Boman (2, Vol. II, p. 786, Fig. 193) also publishes a bird-shaped vessel, perhaps of the pavo del monte (Penelope obscura, Vieill.?), found not far from the present-day village of Humahuaca and which, in addition to its general appearance, has in common with our specimen

415 531

Fig. 73. Ornithomorphic vessel. Chiriguano. Motifs: pink and green. Prov.: Tarairí. (1/3 nat. size.)

415 191 192 from Tarairí designs painted on the sides which represent the wings and tail.

415 532 [293] [172] [191] [114] The Chiriguano Indians of the Caipipendí valley and the Ivu mission still like to serve chicha in vessels to which they give the appearance of a bull (Plate XXVIII, 7-9).[2/a] Llama-shaped vessels have been discovered in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 27, Fig. 14, and Odilia Iregante, Fig. 132, p. 147). Perhaps these are the prototypes of the present-day Chiriguano specimens. Why suppose that these receptacles had solely ritual usage, as Mr. Debenedetti thinks, when one sees the modern Chiriguano make an entirely secular use of them?

2/a [See p. 190--Analyst]

/463 cont./

796 203 578 The attraction of the carnival consists of the enormous consumption of kāwi and alcohol which takes place then. Men and women drink, one trying to outdo the other; and, under the influence of drink, old angers and secret hates are awakened and the most excited provoke each other and come to blows.

796 582

Fig. 120. Chiriguano Indians wearing masks. (Photo. by the R. P. H. Catinari.)

796 203 578 /464/ The "captain" must then call them to order and separate the combatants.

796 534 Some people increase the tumult by blowing into their sénéné (long whistles).

796 832 786 539 Sexual passions become aroused, and the men begin to whirl around the women, whom they entreat, a calabash of kāwi in the hand, while reciting to them in a singsong tone pieces of verse of this type:

Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no	For me
Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no.	For me.

/464 cont./

Eyu sekuama	Come and kiss me
Semireko mi	My little wife
Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
Tuisa dipota	I love thee much
Se songo pe	With my heart
Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray	Thou hast a little mouth
Tuisa dipota	I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

During this time young or old men with their faces covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the people to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

The feast lasts as long as there is kāwi or alcohol. At the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home. Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

The carnival festivity such as I have just described involves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or creoles outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeyti are pagans.

The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the dead, as their name indicates (añia: spirit; wasu: great). As in the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text Continues on p. 329]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[3] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapetí River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tumpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratumpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[3] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

/17 cont./
245 137 824 [302] [303] [439]
and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by Chiriguanos and whites.

139 824
The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission, Isoso, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has [342] [415] long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In [262] Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei," and the "Ivope" [273] pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the [262] first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called [262] "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/21 cont./

MARA or CAOBA /mahogany/. -- This tree is found in all sections. It is a strong wood, but the white part at the sides is subject to decay. It is rather heavy and hard and is only used for door and window casings and even for tables. The leaves are permanent, but not too good for shade. If the leaves are touched with some force in order to pick them, they cause a skin eruption which disappears only when treated with bees' honey; I cured myself this way twice.

/22/ MELOCOTÓN /peach tree/. -- This tree, native to Persia, is quite productive in this region, but its fruit, severely attacked by the black butterfly, does not reach maturity because it always has worms. The apple tree grows in high places and where the atmosphere is not so hot, but both of these are orchard trees, not native ones, having been imported by the whites, who cultivate them, which can also be said of the quince tree.

MOLLE. -- This tree is not found in the central part of the region and thus is not native here, being obtained only by cultivation. The whites and the Missionaries have introduced it into the towns with good results. It is found in abundance in the district under the jurisdiction of Padilla; it has permanent leaves, which are medicinal, as is the resin which comes from the trunk; a cooling beverage, pleasant and similar to wine, except that its odor is somewhat disagreeable, is made from the seeds. The eucalyptus is another tree which thrives regularly here, but it has also been imported; its leaves, also permanent, are very good medicine for the endemic fevers; its trunk is an excellent wood. Neither tree has a name in Chiriguano, from which it can be deduced that they have been imported, like the grape vine, the common fig tree, the peach, quince, etc.

MORA OR MORERA /mulberry/. -- This tree is found wild from the left bank of the Parapiti River in Cordillera Province. It rises to a height of some 15 meters, is bulky with a very leafy top, and the fruit is smaller than that of the cultivated mulberry; the wood is solid and compact like that of the soto and has even better qualities; it is used for machines for milling sugar cane, plantations of which are common from the banks of the Parapiti River, where sugar of the highest quality

/113 cont./

advanced age, and I have seen Indians with the head completely white, and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death, and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly; in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca, and today both are general, and because of liquor and coca, the use of which they much abuse, they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances, and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear, those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn, after buying their clothing (although not always), they invest in liquor and coca, and thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol, for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much, and would that such a tax were higher, more general, and that it was not felt to be enough simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life, it is very rare that one encounters a bald Indian, which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

/115 cont./
obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, inconstancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family. But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not common formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/158 cont./

000 361 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, [114] [62] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797 619 361 2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622 Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631] [643] 1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

622 /159 cont./
[262] may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[273] Cangüi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticúi, meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Güiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 692 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently arise in the planting season, since even among these people there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

[799] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
643 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Güiracoti tried without
837 success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Güiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 529 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224 293 824 191

2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/161 cont./

273 824 171

and the Mataco; thus the fruit of the chañar, mistol, and algarroba are used in the manufacture of chicha.

Subalterns

621 623

The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial, and administrative administration. In order to have a more correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority, selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors are whatever sorcerers there may be; these men are thus feared and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in sickness and calamity, both public and private.

621 624 554

Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they give the name Igũira iya, owner of the stick or baton, according to the signification of the word and which corresponds in Spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed. In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, because the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idleness.

/162/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of the settlers; in a search for peons they hear the sarcasms and recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with: Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes composing them. In this regard the custom of the Indians has been respected for a better and more honest administration.

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 ●273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 581 If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

/223/

881 raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of
[785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less.
[785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

> 1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to
[262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be
[291] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear
[273] water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be-
[842] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less
868 harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have
867 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in
283 which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

241
[476
534]

/240 cont./
go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

241
461
512

The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return; therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

[273
262]

2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha, because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

241
476

They formerly continued in this fashion until the planting of a tribe was completed: one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few matés or /241/ glasses of this much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

1.

/241 cont./

There are 11 varieties of maize planted by the Indians and their neighbors of the white race, the mestizos of Tarija and Santa Cruz. The maize used most for Chiriguano food is called Abati hendi vaé, or abati iyu vaé, shining or yellow maize: the kernel of this variety is actually a glowing yellow in color and /242/ from it they make parched meal and meal for the manufacture of chicha. The second variety which is used quite a lot is the Abatindi, or white maize; this is used for parched maize and also for parched meal; likewise used for this is the Abati catana, whose kernels are similar in color and form to the teeth or seeds of the pomegranate. Next the Abati hesanca vaé, or light maize, is quite highly esteemed (1).

1. The Abati hesanca vaé is known by the Tarija farmers under the name of pisangalla maize: others call it pearly or sugar maize, because it is the color of pearls and is sweeter than that of the other types.

[243] The Indians even plant the Abatiñi, or black maize, but it is not greatly esteemed, and when they make chicha from this maize its color is that of chocolate in milk. If the previous harvest was scarce or almost nil, the Indians at the first rains and others in damp places, which through antonommasia they call Maruiati, plant the Abatiasa, small maize. The plant does not rise more than one meter above the ground, its ear is one jemu /measure from thumb tip to forefinger tip when extended more or less, and its fruit ripens very quickly. They plant little of this in order not to lose the seed. Almost the same as this is the one they call Muruchu, shiny small one. It is the same color as the first variety, but it is not abundant; its ear has eight short rows.

/247 cont./

252 262 Infrequently the Indian drinks a broth of ground maize. Hapi: when he does not have meat, he uses beans and gourds for his broth. If he does not have these either, he prefers Cagüi rai, which he prepares by soaking and grinding the maize, removing the bran, and cooking it. They also chew it sometimes, let it ferment, and eat it when it is ready: anyone who sees this last food could not help but be disgusted, but for them it is a very excellent dish.

The twelfth and last way of eating maize is Muyape, [263] bread. The preparation is the same as that of the Hebrews when they eat unleavened bread, but the Chiriguano put salt and chili pepper in it; after it is kneaded, they cover it with ashes and fire and let it cook well; when it is done, they take it out, wash it with water until the ashes which have stuck to it are gone, and, well washed, it has the color of bread, which invites both big and small to savor it; it is what the Indian likes best, and the women make it frequently in times of plenty. Its odor and taste are very pleasant, especially when just made.

• 273 Cangüi — Chicha

All the ability of a wife consists of knowing how to make chicha well, the delicious cangüi of the Chiriguano, who is capable of walking a hundred kilometers or more to drink it, when invited with all the rules of native diplomacy. Cangüi is his coffee, his soup, his wine, his food, his drink, his everything. In a certain way it is his God, and I am sure that many would renounce heaven for chicha, because they know almost nothing of what heaven is, and, on the other hand, they know that chicha is a sweet thing which gladdens the heart and leads to conversation and singing; therefore, every Chiriguano woman must take special care from even before puberty to learn well the method of preparing it. Here it is (2).

[177] 2. The method of making the chicha which the whites call arrope is somewhat different, but the Chiriguano Indians do not use it and learned of it only recently.

/269/

•273 She prepares and grinds an amount of maize corresponding to the number of vessels she wishes to fill and then sifts it in a special sieve which has large holes. Umpena: from this first job there is always left a kind of sifting, or arrocillo, that they call Abaticure, which, after being soaked and sifted, is again ground, after which they roast it a little on potsherds, chew it, and keep it in a vessel for a period of four to six hours. This is called Timiñü, chewed thing.

Meanwhile water has been collected, and the pot has been put on the fire and is near the boiling point: before it boils, the lighted firewood is taken away to stop its action: she throws into the pot the dry meal which she ground first and mixes it with the hot water, keeping it from becoming lumpy. Then she removes a small quantity of this mixture and puts it in a small vessel, into which she puts all the Timiñü, which mixture they call Umopirai. Having done all this, she stirs continually with a maté, bringing the liquid up to a certain height and letting it fall back into the vessel so that it will acquire the necessary sweetness. When the mixture has become quite sweet, she pours it all into the ollas which are on the fire, brings them to a boil, stirring it all continually for a period of 24 hours (1).

1. If the liquid were not made to fall from a certain height into the vessel, it would not be sweet at all. The spatula with which she stirs the liquid day and night is called Mbarpiyaraca.

[412]

At the end of 24 hours, it is fully cooked: she removes the fire and takes out the thick liquid, putting it in other pots with a wide mouth. The women, both big and small, then sit down and begin to chew until the end (this operation may last some two hours). Then different ones pour water into it, strain all the ingredient in a very fine sieve, Cangüi mbegua, and, once finished, bottle the clarified liquid in other pots with narrow mouths. The lid for these vessels is a small jar or a gourd, and, to seal it hermetically, they plaster it with a

/346 cont./

• 293 mortar of clay, and thus the fermentation works without interference and in a few days. When the fermentation is over, they carefully remove the clay and the lid, and the Caagüi appears, covered with a good dose of oil, a sure sign that the chicha has been made perfectly (1).

1. When the weather is hot, the fermentation of the chicha works in three days, but in cold weather six or seven are needed.

Before beginning to drink it, the housewife collects and removes the oil /illustration appears here/ /349/ and fills the cups for the drinkers: she pours a few drops of this oil into each one. If this precaution were not taken, all of the oil would pour into a single cup, and the woman who had made the chicha would be deprived of the praises of all the hangers-on. When the Chiriguano woman wants the chicha to be better, when she wants Capiriru, or or recooked chicha, after she has strained it, as has been said, she brings it to a boil again and, when it is cold, bottles it.

[302] Note that Chiriguano women who are getting ready to prepare chicha first anoint their faces and calves with palma Christi oil and over this put achiote paint and then begin the job. They say that with this cosmetic, they feel the heat of the fire less, but, be that as it may, it is certain that to see three women so painted in a house with a big fire and lots of smoke is the same as seeing the furies of hell; the resemblance is not remote.

In another chapter it will be seen that a lot of chicha is made for the fiestas celebrated after the harvest, but it should be noted here that food is prepared for this general drinking and the grand bowl is open to all in the plaza, where townsmen and outsiders, men and women, gather into separate groups, because the European civilization of the mixed schools, mixed dances, mixed parties, mixed baths, etc., etc., which are true sewers of prostitution, has not arrived here (1).

[SEE 576]

1. In fact, at the public gatherings the men drink at a decent distance away from the women: their conversations are crude, but do not exceed the limits, because the woman is at the compass of her husband.

/759 cont./

527 574 running, and at the end the mature women and the old women move calmly (1).

1. The first men and women enter the town where they have been invited, making an uproar like a thousand demons, in which they are joined by the startled dogs.

527 574 573 All the men and women gather in front of the house of the cacique, yumumuras vaé, who bids them all welcome, thanks them for the honor that they are doing him, and there then takes place a quite ridiculous scene, which is greatly celebrated by the Indians. The host cacique has placed in front of his house a large vessel full of chicha, which sticks out of the ground at least a meter high. Well then, before the libation begins, they all jump from one side of the vessel to the other. This jump is called Uraquiñampo in some places, and in others, Uyapiras. As I have said, all of them jump, men and women, and especially the unmarried young men and women: some do it without any trouble, and others, particularly some of the girls, stumble because of their laughter and their tight clothing, fall to the ground, and this contretemps/760/ causes much hilarity. While this is going on, the older women and men arrive, and the fiesta begins.

527 573 There is nothing special in the beginning: it is only noteworthy that as the beverage has been prepared in honor of a particular person, he is served first and continually: he must accept some from all the men and women, for otherwise he would be impolite, and thus in a short time the guest's belly is like a swollen bomb and soon his face begins to look repulsive, just as all those of the retinue are not long in having the same appearance (1).

1. During the extraordinary drinking sessions, rare is the family that prepares Capiroro, or recooked chicha, because it is very intoxicating and disturbs the animation of the guests and townspeople.

/369 cont./

529 293 554 562

The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

2. What a pity that there is no photograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any chicha for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

529 533 126

The Dance and Songs

By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and singing of the Ayarise. I do not give the Spanish words here, for the real meaning is not known: I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the Ayarise are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: risum teneatis amici. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumunçau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 574

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagũpo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178]

1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

[177] [178]

/284 cont./

600 The philosopher Focion said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness; it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 751 The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all [262] hygienic; he eats /illustration appears here/ /285/ often and with [252] too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which [271] he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible; [293] the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the burning rays of the sun; he protects himself little in the abrupt changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets his clothes dry on his body; from these come the illnesses that I shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

753 821 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind.

[TEXT Continues on p. 385]

/301 cont./

799 199 this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being replaced.

799 763 199 Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave almost no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others [764] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered. When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent, he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily overcome (1).

799 199

1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

● 293 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great satisfaction, Asagüipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless, [799] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appearing at the mission house.

/303 cont./

362 What the Chiriguano thinks least about is his house; it is
B56 very hard to find one who makes a comfortable one. If he does
797 begin to build one, he is a long time finishing it, if indeed he ever does, and if it falls into ruins, he bothers little about repairs; when it rains, the house fills up with water and becomes a mud-hole, but he and the family are there sleeping and snoring like dormice. To make them renovate their villages, it is almost always necessary to threaten them and promise punishment and at times apply it, so that what happened in the fable of the toads will not occur.

461 The Indian is always ready to drink; if for this it is neces-
293 sary to pile up firewood and carry it from great distances, no one shirks; everyone shakes off his natural laziness with great enthusiasm. Both men and women then become quite active for ten days or two weeks, in order then to drink for six days or more, during which their faces become repugnant, both because of the cosmetics with which they think they beautify themselves and because of their state of half or total drunkenness. Then they talk of many things, and then finally some of them remember about collecting from others, and quarrels arise from this, and to stop these and also to put an end to the idleness the missionary must firmly intervene. If the Indians had a good crop of maize and the drinking bout were prohibited entirely or in part they would organize them in the fields where they plant, and then worse things would happen.

797 Chicha by itself does not cause much damage in their stomachs,
293 and they easily bear up for several days without more than a half-inebriation; the bad thing now is a scandalously widespread abuse of alcohol, which very soon intoxicates them until they are senseless and do not even know that they are alive. The missionary is vigilant in his enforcement of the rules, but it seems that they are members of a secret sect, and they tell him only when it is all over, or when they wish to avenge some grievance.

/304 cont./
797 and our Holy Mother Church (?).
871
199

2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold: the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

797
197
293

What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

167
593
598

In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness: then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

51Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ee 252 445 *171 [4/2]

that they fanned the flour. They had no proper sieves. As we have seen from the table, the Chaco tribes have no basket-sieves, but use bag-nets instead.

Mandioca-graters do not occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané.

Ee 252 445 273

Of course the Chiriguano and the Chané cook their food in earthern ware. Maize-beer »Chicha», their chief food, is boiled in large vessels. It is only with great difficulty that these can be moved from one place to another[1]). Some of the Chiriguano occasionally allow the maize-beer to ferment in hollow stumps of the bottle-tree.

Ee Ee 252 445

The steam cooking-pot shown here (fig. 16) is of very great interest. It is used by the Chané and Chiriguano in cooking a certain dish of maize, the »huintimimmo».[2])

I have seen this contrivance being used as shown by the illustration, but I have, unfortunately, not tasted the maize-dish that was cooked in it.

Ee Ee 252 445 *171

In literature dealing with other parts of S. America I have only found this steam cooking pot mentioned by ULLRICH[3]) from the Rio Grande do Sul (Munizip Pelotas).

He there found pieces of »Siebtöpfen» and says that they were used on the top of a cooking-pot. ULLRICH[3]) tells us that these steam-cooking-pots were used by the

Ee Ee [172] [437]

[1]) When fragments of very large and heavy earthenware vessels are found in archæological excavations one may, as a rule, presume that they originate from a permanently settled tribe. It may be assumed with perfect certainty that these very large vessels were made at the spot where they are found. Small earthen pots may, however, have been bartered from some other tribe. This is naturally of a certain interest if we wish to distinguish between native and imported pottery found in archæological excavations. — Some of the Chiriguano at the Rio Parapiti make only the big common clay vessels themselves and get the small, painted pots by barter from other Chiriguano Indians.

[2]) CORRADO when speaking of different dishes of maize says that »el *huintimimmo*, especie de torta muy tierna hecha con harina de maiz humedecida y blandamente dispuesta en una tortera agujerrada y cocida con baho del agua caliente.» P. 42.

[3]) P. 500.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

small Indian tribes in the woods north of the Rio Camaquam at the end of the decade 1870—80. The perforated top bowl contained maize, the pot under it boiling water.

I cannot at present tell whence the Chiriguano and the Chané got this cultural element. Besides among these Indians, I have also seen steam-cooking-pots of the same kind among the Mataco-Vejos, who live close to the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have special bowls for roasting maize (fig. 16). I have only seen bowls of the same shape among the Mataco-Vejos. The roasting of maize is commonly practised among the majority of Indians who grow this plant, which is of such great importance to many tribes.

The Chiriguano and the Chané do not know of the babracot. They only use the wooden spit. It is often cleft, as is also the case among the Choroti and the Ashluslay. As the kinsmen of the Chané in Northern Bolivia and the kinsmen of the Chiriguano on the coast of Brazil use the babracot, the question arises: »Why is it not used here?» I suppose this is because the hunting is of no great importance, the fishing not very good, and the fish caught small or, at least, rarely of any size.

Pit-ovens are unknown here. When chicha is being made, great pot-spades are used. They are either wooden (fig. 17 A) or made of the hafted shoulderblade of some large mammal. I suppose all Indians who cook their food use something to stir it with. Usually, however, only a plain stick is used. Pot spades of the kind shown here are in use among the Mataco-Vejos, who live near the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro and the Guató[1]) on the upper Rio Paraguay. It is not unlikely at all that the latter have had them from the Chané, for we know from accounts of very early discoverers, that some of the Chané settled on the upper

[1]) Max Schmidt (3). P. 203.

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly.

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called pocõne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinãnoyé, siparakinãnoyé, siparakinãnoyé, toñéya, toñéya, toñéya, which they did not know how to translate.

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered.

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine could get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table.

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up.

/160 cont./ Eo 13

The region settled by the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is really very extensive. It is varied in nature, from luxuriant virgin forests to extremely arid valleys and plains poor in vegetation. It is in part very mountainous, but the Chiriguano and Chané are not mountain people. They stay down in the valleys and do not climb up to the peaks and plateaus, like the Quichua Indians. Eo 136

Animal life in these regions is poor, in fact, very poor. A hunting people could never live there. Now and then a roebuck, a wild pig, a few ostriches, that is all one sees in the way of big game. Bird life, too, is very poor. /161/ Eo [133] The number of lakes is very small, and they are no larger than what we would call pools in Europe. On the Rio Parapiti one sees quite a large number of white egrets (1), famous for

1. Ardea.

their valuable feathers. With regard to wood fowl, only the Eo [262] chicken called "pavas" (2) contributes to the diet. Occasionally

2. Penelope.

one sees a large-billed "toucan" (3). Sleek pigeons, fattened

3. Rhamphastus.

on maize, often live in masses in the fields of the Indians. Eo In the Rio Pilcomayo there is a great abundance of fish, in the little rivers the fish are small and poor. The Indians who [203] live in these regions have to be farmers, and they are maize [262] farmers to the highest degree. For them maize is food, [273] ● drink, pleasure, everything!

I have no adventures to report from among these Indians. Everyone may travel unharmed among them. The greatest sorrow of the ethnographer is that he is unable to collect all the interesting and old things that he sees there. One cannot take everything home.

/179 cont./
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.

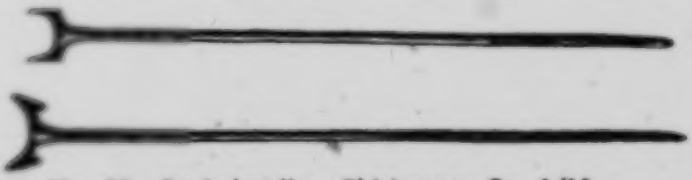


Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

/214 cont./

581. This Jesuit priest describes the marriages of the Chiriguano, however, as very loose.

581 With marriage, life begins in earnest for these Indians.
273 It consists of work and drinking maize beer. I have already described their work somewhat; I shall discuss their drinking bouts below.

165 The life of the Indian men and women passes more quickly

142
291
516

Fig. 112. Old woman. Río Itiyuro.
Her grandsons were about 18 years old and younger.

165 than that of whites. The age of the Indian is very difficult to determine when one has no definite figures to go by. Maringay told me that he was the oldest of his tribe, that none of his contemporaries was living any more. The whites said that Maringay was over 100 years old. This is exaggerated, however. As a newly married /215/ youth 16-20 years old, Maringay visited

6: Nordenskiöld--85 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chané SF8

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

6: Nordenskiöld--97 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ee 53 177

/236 cont./

The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chané art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garnish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee • 273

The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chané on the Río Parapití must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarroba is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee 527 261 433

/237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee 273

After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 appears here/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

6: Nordenskiöld--SI E-6 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF8
Chaco SF8

C
Ca
●273
[312]
[237]

The pots are skirted with large
/237 cont./ wooden spatulas
(Fig. 116a) or with shoulderblades provided with handles (Fig. 116b). It is the pride of every woman to brew good beer, "cangui," and much beer. Indeed, they are /238/ indefatigably busy. One sees them working all day, and even at night they are busy cooking and grinding. No family may refrain from making cangui.

The use of saliva may perhaps seem unnecessary. At first I thought this too, but soon I was so hardened that the cangui prepared with saliva-yeast in Indian fashion tasted better to me

Ca
273
915

Fig. 117. Cooking maize beer. Chaco. Río Bilyero.

than that brewed by the whites in a civilized way.

Ca
273

Connoisseurs, not only Indians, are said to be of the same opinion as I. It is important, however, that the cangui be drunk cold; it is unpalatable lukewarm. When it has stood for a long time, it is somewhat intoxicating, but not as much so as algarroba beer.

Ca
273
579
596

There is a great deal of ceremony connected with cangui drinking. In front, on benches and stools (Fig. 83), sit the men, and behind them, on the ground, the women. The older ladies are given the best places. The hostess brings in the cangui in her

/238 cont./

finest clay vessels, "yambey," and places these in front of her guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well. Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred. It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians become resentful of him. An old Chané once said to me: "You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize beer with us." When Ñeeñeo returned home from the hunt laden with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the happy hunters and welcomed him with a calabash of maize beer. /238/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen in these villages.

At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were handing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.

Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).

Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy said the idea for them had originally come from the whites. Barroyo, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Río Parapití he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which

6: Nordenskiöld--90 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ca /239 cont./

535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
179 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ea The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

E It is strange what a great
Ca role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[464] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ea Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and ornaments, freshly painted and nicely
292 combed. Most of the old costumes
574 and ornaments, however, have already
301 disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing
E with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ca turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
E pins which belong to the festive attire.
912 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they
Ca are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
533

A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

6: Nordenskiöld--01 E-S (1908-1909),1912 1910 Chiriguano SP 10
Chane SP8

Ce
527
573
535
273
Ea
291
177
C
Ce
273
177
527

/240 cont./
and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.

Among the Chané and Chiriguano the arrive of the white man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringey scorns the rags of the whites.

Liquor is being introduced more and more among these Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are turning into crude drinking bouts.

C
532
535

Fig. 119. Dance mask.
Chiriguano. Tacuiba. 1/6.

C C
578
273
177

I shall never forget a night in Vocopoy's village. The /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.

G: Nordenskiöld--02 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 5610 Chiriguano SF/10
Chapter SIX

650
C
Ca
295
323
177

Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

C
Ca

Art and Industry

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountain west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

•[271]
C
Co
525
171
439
650
Ca
194
C
534
171
29/
413

Thus we find the serfre pipe[1] (Fig. 130) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1). /Plate

1. Serfre also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Chiripa, and Tumchre.

It appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing
[A Kind-of Magical Instrument--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 99]

6 Nordenskiöld--131 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ec. /301 cont./
648 This, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to
[466] being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

C 415 531

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ec. 648 way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ec. 648 466 965 167 925 /302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

Ec. 648 273 277 If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

6: Nordenskiöld--152 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF3

Ee
648
273
177

/302 cont./

An Indian who has become intoxicated on native beverages is never as eager for quarrels and brawls as one who has tasted the infernal soup of the whites. Besides the fact that liquor damages the moral life and health of the Indians, it ruins them completely. I have seen with my own eyes how an Indian can give away his best cow for a keg of spirits.

Distilling for private consumption is still permitted in Bolivia. It should be forbidden, and likewise that anyone may sell alcohol any place he wishes.

Ee
648
177

The Bolivian military law that forces the Indian to perform military duty is quite unreasonable. It is very seldom enforced, to be sure, but when it is, and when the authorities come to get a young man for military service, he himself and all the other Indians of the region along with him are beside themselves with fright. One cannot demand that the Indians take part in the defense of the fatherland before they have the same rights as other citizens and know what their fatherland is.

It is unjust to demand that they should help to defend Bolivia, to defend the whites, who, according to their ideas, have stolen their land from them. The Chiriguano and Chané likewise love their country, but their fatherland is only the valleys and forests in which their fathers made clearings and their mothers painted clay vessels for the festivals.

Ee
[469]

During the period of development which Bolivia is now experiencing, /303/ it is important to make use of Indian labor even here in the land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians.

In spite of their unique culture, I have no great hopes for the future of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians. They will, however, become incorporated as an important element of the mestizo race, which in the future will be the sole rulers of the xerophytic forests of the Parapiti valley and the last spurs of the Andes toward El Gran Chaco.

Gradually they will probably forget their legends about Tamtunpa and Aguaratunpa and the other gods.

342
142
291
302
352
273

Fig. 190. Woman in front of her hut. In the foreground a bedstead on which lies chewed maize; this maize is used in the preparation of »chicha», an intoxicating beverage. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

342
361
417

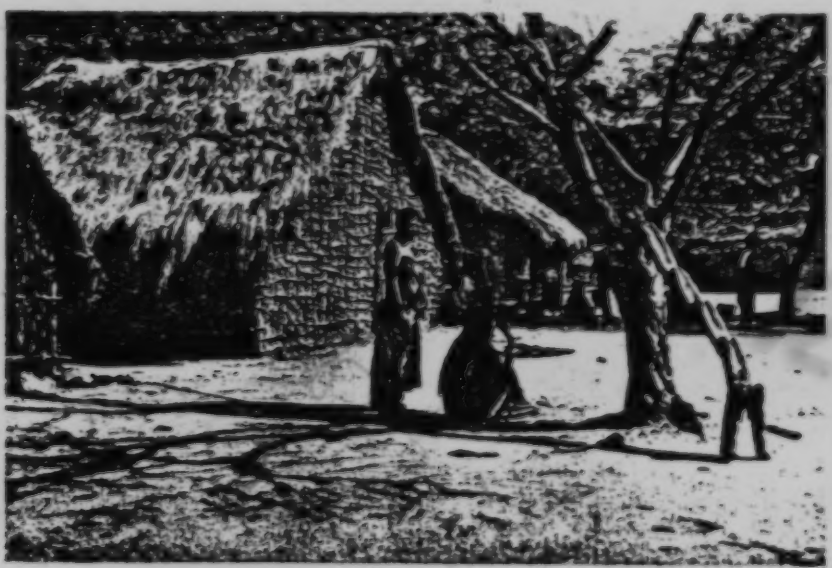


Fig. 191. Huts in the periphery of the circular market-place in the Chiriguano village of Ibitibi. In right foreground, a ladder used on going to the pile-barns for maize. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[P. 194 is blank]

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Intoxicants and stimulants. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriages, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton, uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nordenskiöld, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most important one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano larder does not to any great extent depend on hunting the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important source of subsistence. Snaring is, nowadays, the only method of hunting employed by the Chiriguano. The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 23 and 24.

[P 216 is blank]

323 counterparts of which are found on many ancient Peruvian clay vessels, have been more fully described by me in »En förgången värld».[1] The cord by which this vessel was suspended passed round the edge, and then upwards, between the points of the rim warts. At each wart a hole has been pierced through the rim of the vessel, but these perforations are so very small that they cannot very well have been used for fixing any string by which to hang up the vessel.

Besides the clay pots here reproduced — often graceful of shape and beautifully painted — there are also plain, unpainted clay vessels for cooking and other kitchen purposes. Chiriguano ceramics are of an exceedingly great variety as to form, and many of the shapes are identical with those of clay vessels found in ancient Indian graves and in the ground of ancient dwelling-sites in those regions of the Andes that border on the present Chiriguano country.

824 415 Next to clay vessels, bottles and bowls made of calabash may be said to predominate among the household furniture of the Chiriguano. The bowls are often provided with pokerwork ornament (fig. 226).

273 On festivals — and also usually, though not always — the Chiriguano drink an intoxicating liquor (»chicha», in Chiriguano: »cangui»), which they prepare from maize. In [415] huge wooden mortars the maize is [531] pounded to flour, which is poured into large clay vessels filled with → water. This mixture is made to boil, and when it has cooled down, lumps of chewed maize dough are put into it to produce fermentation. These masticated mouthfuls of maize are usually allowed to dry in the sun, before use, and are then frequently spread on a [114] bedstead (fig. 190). This method of preparing maize beer naturally

Fig. 218. A jug for holding maize beer. Earthenware. Bottom part and inside unpainted. The rest painted brownish yellow, with ornaments in dark brown (marked in black) and red (marked in thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayronda, Bolivia. $^{6}/_{9}$. Riksm. 03. 3. 837.

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 344 et seq.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

273
[114] strikes one as particularly disgusting, and therefore, after I had got to know how the brew was made, I could never again bring myself to drink this beverage, which in itself is rather palatable. As I have already mentioned, an intoxicating liquor is also made from the fruit of the algarrobo tree. The beer made by the Chiriguano is very highly prized by them. But, on the other hand, it does not appear that tobacco is used

276

415
531

Fig. 219. A jug for maize beer. 1/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 813.

Fig. 220. A maize beer drinker. 1/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 835.

Fig. 221. A maize beer bowl. 1/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 830.

Fig. 222. A maize beer bowl with four holes through the rim, to which strings can be fixed. 1/6. Riksm. (No catalogue number.)

Painted earthenware vessels. The ground-colour of the vessels in figs. 219 and 220 is yellowish-white; of those in figs. 221 and 222, a brownish-yellow. The ornamentation is in dark brown (here marked quite black) and red (marked with fine lines). The inner sides and bottoms of the vessels are unpainted.
Chiriguano. Agoyrenda. Bolivia.

231 /18 cont./ With
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 241 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
● 273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 226. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 365.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
317 previously salt (dyúki) was obtained from mines or extracted
459 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

C
263
317
439

/19 cont./
from the whites (82).

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

C
273
[312]

Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in certain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce
[273]

or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

C
Ce
264
415

The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

C
Ce
415
[126]

I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p. 142/), as well as two wooden dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C
415

Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

8: Schmidt--124 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/50 cont./

C
415
126

6. Vessels Intended for Serving Chicha, from the Collection

I. A. 347 (226)	Chir.	Ht. 18.3 cm.	Max. dia.	15.3 cm.	Apert.	10 cm. (Fig. 65)
I. A. 348 (226)	Chir.	Ht. 14.5 cm.	Max. dia.	14.7 cm.	Apert.	8 cm.
I. A. 349 (226)	"	Ht. 18.5 cm.	Max. dia.	18.2 cm.	"	5.2 cm.
I. A. 371	"	" 20	" "	" 21.3	"	" 8.5 cm.
I. A. 379	"	" 18.5	" "	" 16	"	" 6 cm.
I. A. 380	"	" 20	" "	" 18.3	"	" 8.5 cm. (Fig. 82a)
I. A. 382	"	" 18	" "	" 14	"	" 7 cm. (Fig. 82b)
I. A. 385	"	" 20.5	" "	" 21.7	"	" 9 cm.
I. A. 402	"	" 22	" "	" 15.5	"	" 12 cm.
I. A. 403	"	" 17.5	" "	" 14.5	"	" 14 cm. (Fig. 84)
I. A. 404	"	" 20	" "	" 21.5	"	" 9 cm. (Fig. 74a)
I. A. 405	"	" 19	" "	" 19	"	" 7 cm.
I. A. 587	Izozó	" 18	" "	" 16.2	"	" 12 cm.
I. A. 588	"	" 14	" "	" 14.3	"	" 12 cm.
I. A. 590	"	" 13	" "	" 12.8	"	" 12.5 cm.
I. A. 609	"	" 14	" "	" 12.5	"	" 12 cm.
I. A. 623	"	" 20.5	" "	" 18	"	" 12.5 cm. (Fig. 60)

Ce
415
126

/Fn. 226, which appears on p. 122, reads:
Donated by D. María F. de Casati./

C
Ce
415
527
273

The Chiriguano and Chané use vessels like those mentioned above in the chicha festivities, taking the chicha from the large pots by means of them and filling the cuyas /gourd vessels/ or baked clay cups that they pass among those present at the fiesta.

/77 cont./

C 412 126

Spatulas for Stirring Foods, Which Are in the Collection

I.A. 501. (Chiriguano) Length 49.5 cm.
I.A. 509. " " 74.5 cm. (Fig. 21)
I.A. 575. " " 114 cm. (Fig. 20b.)
I.A. 577. " " 93 cm.
I.A. 578. " " 62 cm. (Fig. 20a.)
I.A. 579. " " 66.5 cm.

C CS 412 [531] [171]

These wooden spatulas for stirring are used by the Chiriguano and Chané for stirring the bubbling crock of maize when it is being fermented. Some of these spatulas have decorations on their handles similar to those of the corresponding spatulas of the Guató Indians. Nordenskiöld shows in a sketch such a Chiriguano spatula with a zigzag decoration (283), and beside

C 412 531 237

283. Nord. 2. Fig. 17 A.

it (284) another form of these utensils, from the Chiriguano.

284. Nord. 2. Fig. 17 B.

which consists of the shoulder blade of a large mammal, attached to a wooden handle (285).

285. Nord. 2, p. 55. See Métraux 1. Figs. 32 and 34.

The Making of Fermented Drinks

C ●273

Concerning the making of maize chicha, that is, the national drink of the Chiriguano, Nordenskiöld says the following (286):

286. Nord. 1. p. 237.

C [412]

First the maize is /78/ ground up in large mortars, then sifted and boiled in large pots with water. A part of this mash,

9: Schmidt--704 E-5 (1905) 1908 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/78 cont./

C 293 removed from the pot, chewed up and well mixed with saliva, is then mixed back in with the rest. Then it is strained and fermens in large open pots, at moderate heat. By means of large wooden spatulas or mammals' shoulder blades fitted with wooden handles, the mash is mixed in the pot. We find a more detailed description of this process in the publication by Métraux (787).

C [412] [239]

787. Métraux I, pp. 365-369.

C Ce 251

The Preservation of Foodstuffs

Concerning the method of preserving foodstuffs, we know that the Chiriguano and Chané dry fish for future use, when fish are abundant (788). According to Nilo (789), formerly meat

788. Nord. 1, p. 189.

C [113]

789. Nilo, F. Bernardino de: Etnografía Chiriguana. La Paz, 1912, pp. 949 and 950. According to Métraux.

from hunting was preserved for the great fiestas by drying it in the sun, without using salt. Even today, when a bovine animal is slaughtered, part of the meat is preserved by drying it in the sun (790).

790. Métraux I, p. 356.

E 501 otro

Transport

The Chiriguano and Chané, in contrast to the Itatines-Guarayús, do not have boats (791). Concerning means of

791. Nord. 1, p. 186.